PERSONAL DECORATION AND ORNAMENTS

being treated in this manner, and it seemed to be a somewhat painful process. However, "*Il faut souffrir pour être belle*," and these women do endure considerable discomfort in the course of their toilet.

The toffee-like substance described above is also used by women in a similar way in order to pull out any hairs that may be growing on their legs.

Most women and girls paint round the eyes with antimony (Arabic, *kohl*). It is kept in a small bottle, generally of glass, called *mikhaleh*, and is applied with a short stick with a blunt point. It is regarded not only as a beautifier, but also as a cure for sore eyes.

Scent is used by both sexes, some of it being of a very pungent nature. In some parts of Egypt it is taboo for a man to use scent while his wife is suckling her child. If he disobeys this rule the child, it is said, will come out all over in spots. A man whom I knew well used some scent on one occasion while his wife was still suckling their youngest-born. The child got nasty spots all over its body, and the mother told me that it was her husband's fault, because he had been putting some scent on his moustache!

I have sometimes heard English people remark on the dirty habit that the Egyptian peasant women have of wearing long dresses which trail over the ground, brushing up the dust in clouds as they go along. It is, of course, a very insanitary practice, but the wearing of short skirts would be looked upon as most immodest. A woman's legs should never be exposed, except from dire necessity. There is also another reason for the trailing skirts. Most peasant women walk barefooted, and so leave clearly defined footprints in the dry, dusty soil. A woman can be injured magically through her footprints, and so the long skirt acts as a safeguard, brushing over and thus obliterating them.

Little girls wear very bright-coloured cotton frocks, which reach almost to the ground (see Fig. 17). The women and older girls may wear such frocks indoors, but when they walk abroad, either to shop, to fill their water-jars, or to visit their friends, they wear a long black dress over the coloured one, and a thick veil, shawl-shaped, over their heads.

I was told by a friend some few years ago that in Sharḳīyeh Province the women wear long white veils, on which are several gold or silver ornaments. These ornaments are in the form of

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

If a woman has lost several children in succession at birth she thinks that somehow or other she has incurred the anger of her *ukht* or *ḳarīneh*, or both, and that they have taken the children away from her. She therefore consults a female magician, who gets into communication with these subterranean beings, and the mother inquires what she has done to make either or both of them angry. If the reply is that she has angered one or both of them she must then bring bread made of wheat flour, of which both she and the magician must partake. When the latter eats the bread it is as though the *ukht* and *ḳarīneh* ate it, for they eat it through her. After this ceremonial eating of the bread these beings make peace with the mother and tell her that the next time she gives birth to a child, and on all subsequent occasions, she is to act in the following way. She must bury the placenta, together with a round, bun-shaped loaf of bread, made of wheat flour, called *khubz*, and a *raṭl* (rather more than 1 lb.) of salt, in a bowl (Fig. 30), covered by another bowl of the same shape, under the floor of her house. By this means the *ukht* and *ḳarīneh* are appeased and will not take the woman's children from her.

FIG. 30. JAR IN WHICH THE PLACENTA, TOGETHER WITH BREAD AND SALT, IS BURIED UNDER THE FLOOR

If a woman's new-born children have survived birth the midwife, or a female relative or friend, throws the afterbirth into the Nile or into a canal. As she does this, however, she must laugh or smile, for then the child will always be happy and cheerful. If, on the other hand, she neglects her duty in this respect the child will always have an unhappy disposition.

Some mothers, in order to ensure long life to their children, will take a small piece of the umbilical cord and wrap it in a cotton wick. This they put in a pottery saucer-lamp filled with oil, light it, place it in a little boat, and leave it to float down the stream. Others again—and this is a very common practice—will take a short length of the cord and sew it up in a strip of cotton material, which is then hung by a string from the child's neck. After a short time this, together with certain other charms to be mentioned presently, is sewn up in one of the small leather charm-cases, and must be worn throughout life. It is usual to hang

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD

the *ukht* only is attached to each individual, whether male or female. According to my informants among the *fellāḥīn*, the *ukht* of each person lives underground,[1] though it comes up on occasions. It resembles in character the human being to whom it is attached. Thus, if a man or woman is good his or her *ukht* is good, if bad the *ukht* is bad also. It is quite distinct an entity from the *ḳarīn* and *ḳarīneh*.[2]

The following incidents happened last year in connexion with a woman and her husband, both of whom are well known to me. The woman in question was expecting to become a mother, and she and her husband were having a meal together one day when a cat came into the house and tried to eat some of their food. The woman hit the cat, which disappeared immediately. Being surprised at this sudden and miraculous disappearance of the animal, the woman consulted a well-known female magician who lives in her village. This magician got into touch with the "people beneath the earth," who informed her that the *ukht* of the woman mentioned above was angry with her, and wanted to know why she had hit her when she had come to her house in the form of a cat. The woman then said that she was very sorry, but she had not known that it was her *ukht* who had come in that form. The *ukht* said, "Why did you hit me? Did you not want me to eat?" She also complained that the woman to whom she was *ukht* had no *kūz* for her *zīr*, so that she (the *ukht*) could not drink when she came to the house. (A *kūz* is a large tin mug, and anyone who wants a drink dips it into the *zīr*—a large pottery jar, often kept in a special kind of cupboard, and containing the household water—and drinks from it.) The magician told the woman that she must buy a *kūz* and put it with the *zīr* in the cupboard, which was to be locked so that no one could get at it, and the *ukht* could drink without being disturbed.

It also transpired that the woman's *ukht* and also the *ukht* of her husband were both very jealous, because the man and his wife were always laughing together. The two *ikhwāt* (plural of *ukht*) said they did not like it, and that if this merriment between the pair continued all their children should die. The woman was to laugh only occasionally, and then all would be well. To my own know-

[1] See also pp. 69, 184, 186, 227.
[2] See my article on the subject, "The Ḳarīn and Ḳarīneh," in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. lvi, January–June, 1926, pp. 163–169.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

323 462 to three inches thick. Another woman takes one of these cakes and places it on an upturned pot with rounded base which stands in a shallow pan filled with chaff. The upturned pot can be turned round and round in the pan at the will of the potter. The cake of clay is moulded over the base of the upturned pot, and the potter pats and smooths it into shape with one hand and with a potsherd held in the other hand. When this part of the process is completed she removes the clay, now formed into a hemispherical shape, and places it on the ground beside her. She goes on dealing

[415]

FIG. 60. SMOOTHING OVER THE JOIN IN POT-MAKING

with the cakes of clay in this way until she has a number of such shapes prepared. She then takes two of these, and bends the edges of both inward, moistening them, as she does so, with water from a bowl placed near her. The two shapes are now put together, rim to rim, the woman again moistening her hand with water to effect the join, which she first smooths over with her hand and then with a potsherd or a curved piece of wood [1] (Fig. 60).

The vessel is now a perfect sphere. The opening is cut with the woman's thumbnail (Fig. 61). She keeps her hand steady with the thumb in position, and turns the pot round rapidly as it rests on the ground, or in the pan, thus making a perfectly circular

[1] See below, p. 141, footnote.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

incision. The disk cut in this way is removed, whereupon the woman inserts her hand inside the pot to smooth away the interior ridges formed by the joining of the two hemispheres. A rim is then added round the opening, and small handles are fixed to the sides (Fig. 62). The pots are left to harden in the sun before being fired in the kiln. No slip or glaze is used for decoration.

I found the same technique employed in another village in the same province, the site chosen for the factory being also a palm-grove. Here men as well as women were making the hand-made pots. This is somewhat unusual, as in most parts of the world the men confine themselves to pottery-making with the wheel.

FIG. 61. CUTTING THE OPENING WITH THE THUMBNAIL

In both these villages men were making pots with wheels on the same site as that occupied by the women, but at a short distance from them.

The clay used for the wheel-turned pots is the same as that used for the hand-made. The circular table on which the clay is placed is rotated by means of a flywheel worked by the potter's foot (*cf.* Fig. 72). When large vessels, such as *ziyār* (singular *zīr*),[1] are to be made the man first moistens the circular table with water,

[1] Very large jars, in which the household water is stored.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

sprinkles on it a certain quantity of chaff, and then puts a large lump of clay on it to form a strong base for the pot. When smaller vessels are to be made the process is different, as will be seen later. He then takes some more clay and forms it into a thick, flat sausage, which he coils round the lump of clay forming the base (Fig. 63). As he rotates the wheel the pot begins to take form, the potter drawing up the clay as he works to make the sides. Having completed the work so far, he takes another lump of clay and presses it on to the base to strengthen it still further in this part. To increase the size of the vessel more coils of clay are superimposed round the pot, one at a time, the man pouring a little water from his hand over each added roll to effect a join. This is repeated until half the intended height of the vessel is attained, when cords are coiled round it spirally with the aid of the wheel (*cf.* Fig. 77). This half-pot is now removed from the wheel and placed on the ground, where it is left to dry for several hours. When sufficiently hardened it is again placed on the wheel, and the upper part completed by superimposing thick sausages of clay as before, the shape of the vessel being obtained by decreasing the length of each additional roll of clay. The *zīr*, having been finished off with a

FIG. 62. PUTTING ON THE HANDLES OF A POT

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

323 Smaller vessels, such as the *ḳulleh* (see below, Fig. 79), are also made on the wheel, these being formed out of a single lump of clay. The potter, from long experience, knows exactly how large the lump must be for the formation of each vessel.

323 415 Near another village in Asyūṭ Province I saw the three following processes employed in the manufacture of a single pot. The vessels being made were large and globular in shape, and three people, a

[415]

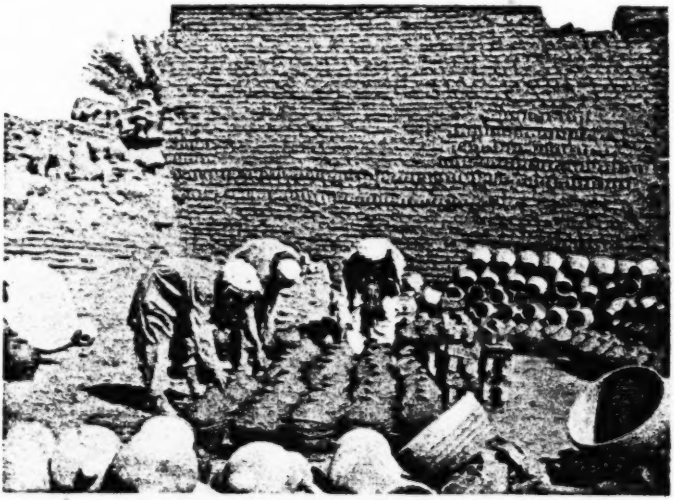

FIG. 64. REMOVING THE CORDS FROM THE POTS BEFORE PLACING THEM IN THE OVEN

woman and two men, were each responsible for one process, besides a fourth person, a man, who prepared and kneaded the clay. The clay was obtained in the neighbourhood, and chaff only was mixed with it. There was a kiln near by for the firing of the vessels (Fig. 65).

323 The first part of the pot was made by the woman. She took a large lump of clay, placed it in a round, shallow hollow in the ground, previously prepared and made very smooth, and then pounded the clay into the shape of this mould by means of an object, rather like a cottage loaf in appearance (Fig. 66), made of hard baked clay. By this means the base of the pot was constructed. She then took a potsherd, and with it and the other hand

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

had his supply of clay, mixed with chaff, ready prepared inside a hovel, and carefully covered with sacking to prevent evaporation. A potter's wheel also stood inside. The prepared hollow was just outside the hut, and it was made there to enable me to take photographs of him at his work; he usually had one inside, where there was not sufficient light for photography. The hollow was circular and shallow, and was lined with chopped straw well beaten into

FIG. 68. FORMING THE RIM WITH THE AID OF THE WHEEL

the ground, until the surface was smooth and firm. The potter took a large piece of clay, which he formed into a cone shape by rolling it in the hollow (Fig. 69). He then took the implement made of hard baked clay and began to hollow out the cone of clay from the thick end into a thick, shallow bowl. Laying aside the clay implement, the potter now began to draw up the sides of the vessel with his left hand and the wooden implement, in the manner described above (Fig. 70). This process was continued until a large globular water-jar was formed. The somewhat small circular opening was carefully nipped into shape with the fingers and thumb, and then the jar was put in the sun to dry and harden for some hours before the rim was added on the wheel (Fig. 71). It

[Text continues on p. 145]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt

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FIG. 69. THE ARAB POTTER WITH CONE-SHAPED LUMP OF CLAY

FIG. 70. THE WATER-JAR NEARING COMPLETION

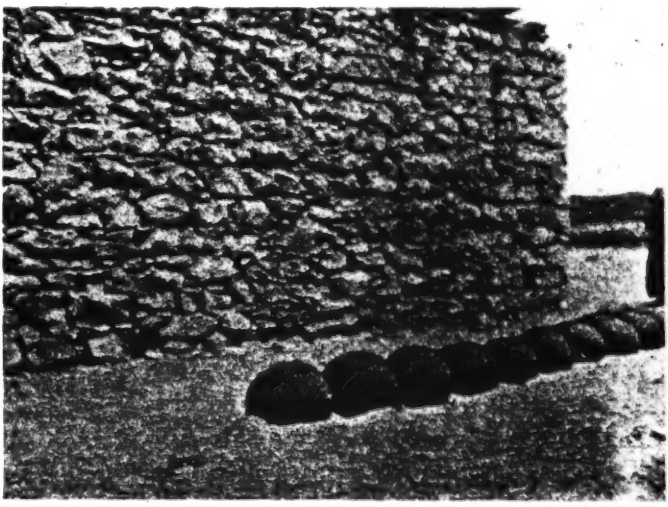
[page 144]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

should be noted that in this case the pot was not taken out of the hollow in the ground until it was ready for sun-baking. 323 563

Similar jars are made by another family of potters in this Arab village, where the women assist their menfolk by preparing the clay for use. The method employed in the manufacture of these jars is the same as that just described.

Much farther south I saw a somewhat different method. The pots, which are of various shapes and sizes, are not only all entirely 323 184



[415]

FIG. 71. WATER-JARS SUN-BAKING

wheel-turned, but the material of which they are made differs from that used farther north; also, the vessels are covered with a slip and painted with simple designs. [531]

The pots are made of *ḥamr* (a reddish clay), which is brought in large lumps from the adjacent desert. These are broken up, soaked in water, and then kneaded into a clay of the right consistency. No chopped straw is mixed with it. After the pots have been turned on the wheel (Fig. 72) they are placed on hard clay disks to sun-bake for half a day, and during this period they are tilted slightly from time to time, so that the air may circulate underneath. This is done so as to ensure an even evaporation of the superfluous moisture from all parts of 323 [317]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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FIG. 73. WOMAN PUTTING THE SLIP ON A POT

FIG. 74. POLISHING THE POTS

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

Dried maize-stalks (*būṣ*) are used as fuel for the furnace, which is lighted under a large circular oven, in which the vessels are placed in rows, one above the other. Cakes of buffalo- or cow-dung are placed on the top of the last layer of pots. The oven, be it noted, is roofless. The furnace below is kept open and constantly supplied with fuel for some hours. Then the furnace is closed, and the fire left to burn out. Meanwhile, the cakes of dung get gradually hot from the heat of the furnace below, and this ensures a good heat at the top as well as at the bottom of the oven.

FIG. 75. WOMAN ARTIST PAINTING THE POTS

On the site of this pottery factory a large number of tiles are also made (Fig. 76), the material being ordinary clay mixed with finely chopped straw. Men only are employed in this industry.

Each tile is shaped in a shallow wooden mould with a handle very similar to that used in brick-making (see p. 154, Fig. 81). The tiles are turned out of the mould on to the ground, and there left to sun-bake for two weeks during the winter and for one week in the summer. They are then placed in piles in the oven, the baking being carried out in exactly the same way as described above. The furnace is kept open and constantly supplied with fuel for five to six hours in the case of smaller ovens, and for seven to eight hours when the ovens are larger. The whole process of baking occupies about forty-eight hours from start to finish; by that time the tiles have cooled down and can be removed from the oven.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

of clay is placed upright, and gradually hollowed out and moulded into shape. Long experience enables the potter to know the exact amount of clay required for making a pan, so that there is no necessity to add more. The pillar of clay is rapidly hollowed out and drawn outward and upward into the required shape, and it should be noted that the rim is not added, but is in one piece with the rest of the pan. The base, however, is strengthened by the

FIG. 77. BINDING CORD ROUND THE PAN

addition of another lump of clay smoothed over by the hand, and the outside and inside of the pan are finished off by smoothing with a potsherd. Cord is then bound round the pan spirally, as the vessel revolves on the wheel (Fig. 77). Care is taken that the cord should encircle the outer edge of the pan just below the rim. The vessel is now dried in a shady place for two days, and in the sun for one day, after which the cord is removed (Fig. 78). Before being placed in the oven, however, the superfluous clay is scraped off the base with the *garūt*. The fire is constantly kept going with the usual fuel of *būṣ* for two hours, after which time the furnace is closed and the fire left to burn itself out. When the vessels are cold they are removed from the oven.

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Upper Egypt

The custom of binding the cord just below the rims of the larger pans may have been also practised in former times when making the upper part of a *zīr*. As I stated earlier in the chapter, the potter usually makes incised marks with his thumbnail just below the rim of a *zīr*, the marks roughly resembling those made by the impress of the cord. This impress may have suggested a pattern, which the conservative mind of the potter demanded should always appear on that portion of the pot, even when the cord was no longer wound round it. Thus the marks made round the base of the rim by the thumbnail may be an imitation of somewhat similar markings left by a cord bound round this part of the *zīr* in earlier times.

FIG. 78. PANS BOUND WITH CORDS DRYING IN THE SUN

Smaller vessels, such as *ḳulal* (singular *ḳulleh*) (Fig. 79), are also made at this factory, and the clay used is obtained from Begīg, or Abgīg, as this village is sometimes called. *Ṭafl* (yellow clay) brought from Kīmān Fāris is mixed with the ordinary clay, the proper proportions being two-thirds ordinary clay to one-third *ṭafl*. These two materials are laid in water to soak till they are quite soft. They are then removed to a deep cavity dug in the ground, where a man kneads them with his feet. The mixture is taken out and piled in a heap, so that the superfluous moisture may evaporate.

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

323 When it is ready for use each potter takes a quantity from this store, and places it in his hut, covering it, as usual, with sacking.
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317 A large lump of clay, worked up into a thick bolster shape, is taken and placed on the round table above the wheel. From this quantity of clay a number of *ḳulal* are made, each one, on completion, being cut off from the mass of clay by a string attached to a short stick (Fig. 80).

323 FIG. 70. TWO TYPES OF ḲULLEH OR WATER-BOTTLE
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The potter begins by hollowing out the upper portion of the clay with his thumb, turning the wheel with his foot all the time, and slowly drawing up the sides of the vessel, which at the first stage resembles a bowl with thick sides. Then this is gradually shaped into a slender vessel by drawing up the sides, which, of course, become much thinner, until the *ḳulleh* is formed. The grooving

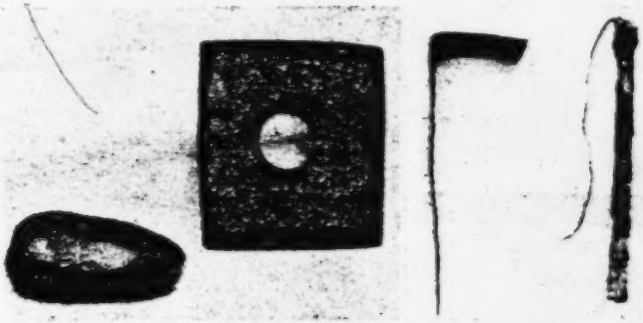

FIG. 80. POLISHING STONE, SĀDIF, GARŪT, AND STRING FOR CUTTING OFF FINISHED POTS

and final shaping is done with the aid of an implement called a *sādif*, a small, thin square of iron perforated in the centre (Fig. 80). The *sādif* is also used for incising the simple designs to be seen on the *ḳulal* made in this locality. The *ḳulleh* is then, as stated above, cut off by a string. The *ḳulal* are sun-baked for
323 one day, then put into the oven, the fire being kept alight for four

INDUSTRIES AND MARKETS

hours and then left to go out. The vessels are removed from the oven when they are cold.

The water-jars (*balālīṣ*) manufactured at this place are entirely hand-made, and for this process a circular hollow in the ground, such as has been described previously, is used. Large, shallow saucers and bowls are made in the same way.

A large lump of clay, sufficient to form the whole *ballāṣ*, is placed in the hollow, and beaten into a preliminary shape with the cottage-loaf-shaped clay implement. The curved piece of wood is also used here to beat up the sides of the vessel. When bowl and saucers are being made the rims are beaten into shape with it likewise. A *garūt* is used to cut off any superfluous clay that may appear during the formation of the *ballāṣ*. These jars are then left to sun-bake for a short time before the rim is added with the aid of the wheel. The *balālīṣ* are baked for the same length of time as the *ziyār*.

I asked a potter who worked with the wheel how long it took to become proficient in the art, and he told me that he had learned it from his father, and had taken five years to become really skilled in his work. He, however, said that if he had learned it from some one else it would have taken him ten years to become an expert. His father, he remarked, was a good teacher as well as a very skilful workman.

The granaries, which are usually erected on the roofs of the houses, are made by the women out of clay and chopped straw, well mixed together. Each granary takes some time to complete, as it can only be made piecemeal. The finished portion must remain exposed to the sun until it is fairly dry before another can be added. When the whole is constructed it is left in the sun to harden thoroughly.

The granary has a circular opening at the top, covered by a clay lid, while near the base there is a small opening which is closed with a mud stopper. This latter opening is used when the supply of grain in the granary is low, the grain being more easily extracted through it than through the opening at the top, for many such granaries are from four to five feet high.

These granaries are usually roughly circular, with straight sides, the top slightly domed; but in some parts of Egypt many of them are globular, a shape possibly derived from certain basket granaries described below. Farther south, near el-Kāb, I saw some much

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

clearing away of rubbish, for removing *sibākh* (the earth obtained from ancient rubbish mounds, used as a fertilizer), and for the transport of grain ; in it, moreover, a woman generally places the dry roots which she collects in the fields to bear home for fuel, and also the goods which she conveys to and from the market. A woman always carries this basket on her head (see p. 80, Fig. 38),

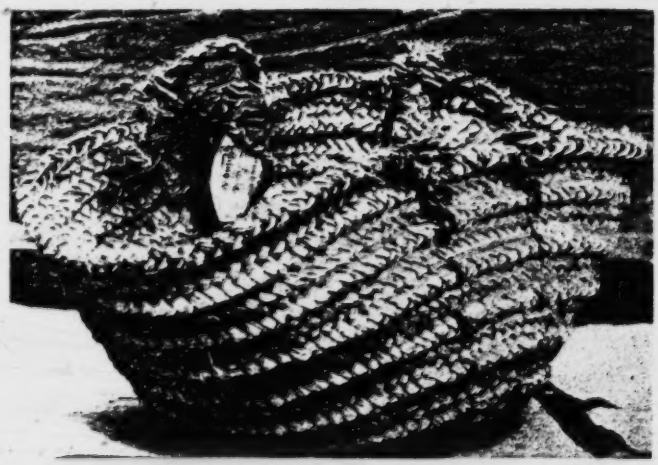

FIG. 83. A MAḲṬAF

the varied contents sometimes including even a small child (see p. 37, Fig. 14).

The habit of carrying their burdens on their heads gives the women their wonderful poise. The heaviest loads are thus carried with apparently the greatest ease. For example, the large water-jars, filled to the brim, are conveyed home in this way by the women without any support from their hands, and without a drop of the contents being spilled (see p. 41, Fig. 16).

Children begin to carry burdens in this way at a very early age, smaller jars, and perhaps somewhat smaller baskets, being used by them. If the heads of the female Egyptian peasants were systematically measured it might be shown that this method of carrying heavy weights from early childhood has made a definite impression on the shape of the skulls, those of the women being possibly much flatter on the top than those of the men. I do not

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
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Upper Egypt
Egyptian Oases MR12

F 285 same material, any ends that remain over being laced into the sides of the basket below either handle. The base of the basket on the outside is also sometimes reinforced with cord coils.

E 285 I should mention that a basket in my possession, from the oasis of el-Farāfreh, displays the same technique as the *maḳṭaf*. It is of very fine workmanship and the plaits are very small.

F 285 415 [460]

FIG. 85. BASKET-GRANARIES

A similar technique is employed in the making of basket-granaries. These are of great size, and are made, so I was told, exclusively by men and, so far as I know, in Fayūm Province only; I have never, as yet, come across them elsewhere. Numbers of them are sold at the weekly markets, and their size may be estimated by comparison with the height of the people standing near them in the photograph (Fig. 85). I have frequently seen these basket-granaries on the roofs of houses in Fayūm. Sometimes they are quite globular in shape and are entirely covered with clay, this being done, so one of my servants told me, to keep the wind and dust from penetrating through the interstices. Only when small pieces of clay have fallen off is the original structure of basket-work revealed. All the basket-granaries that I have seen are extremely well made, and are very strong.

F 285 Many baskets in use all over Egypt are made in the follow-

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Siwans MR14

F 285 therefore pliable enough to be bent into whatever shape the basket-maker desires.

F 885 463 441 In one very small village in Fayūm I found a large number of people engaged in this industry. There is also a basket-merchant in this village, and his trade extends all over the country. He informed me that he sent large consignments of baskets abroad, even, he declared, to England, but I am not in a position to be able to verify his statement. I bought a certain number of baskets

FIG. 88. BASKET-MAKERS IN A SMALL VILLAGE IN FAYŪM

S [285] from him, including one which, he said, had come from the oasis of Sīweh. This basket, the workmanship of which is very superior, is to be seen in the adjacent illustration on the right (Fig. 89).

F 285 ●415 F [960] Baskets of the variety called *ḳafaṣ* (plural *aḳfāṣ*) (Fig. 90) are used as temporary cages for fowls, pigeons, rabbits, and so on. Oranges and other fruits may also be packed in these baskets, as well as household utensils. In the manufacture of these baskets, which are made of the mid-ribs of palm-branches only, men are more usually employed than women. The baskets can be made very strong, and therefore may be used for carrying heavy weights. Vertical lengths of mid-rib are inserted into holes pierced through horizontal bars of the same material forming the four sides; no

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt
Siwans MR14

F 285 415

nails or fastenings of any kind are used. The lid is made in a similar way. I always have my kitchen utensils and stores packed in such baskets when travelling from village to village, as they have the advantage of being light in weight as well as durable.

Beds, chairs, and small tables are made of the same material and in a similar way to the *ḳafaṣ*.

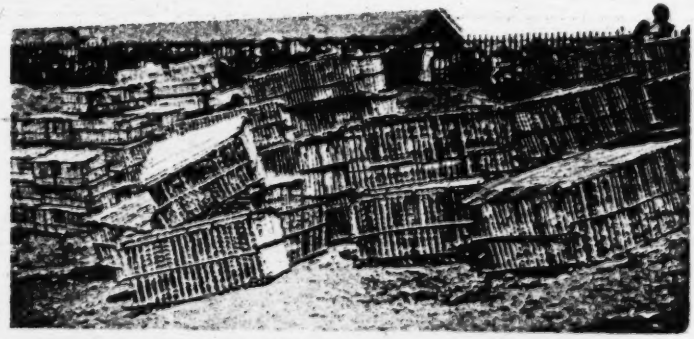
Native rope is usually made out of the fibre of the palm-trunk (*līf*). The *līf* is picked over and torn into strips, which are twisted into a cord between the palms of the hands (Fig. 91 and Frontispiece). There is a large rope-making industry in Fayūm Province, and the ropes made in this village are traded over a large area.

F 352
F 083
S [085]

FIG. 89. VARIOUS BASKETS: TRAY (AT BACK), FRUIT-BASKET (IN CENTRE), BASKET FROM SĪWEH (ON RIGHT)

Strong woollen cloth is woven in a great many villages, but the weaving of finer materials, such as silk, is mostly

F 286 394



F [085 417]

FIG. 90. BASKETS OF PALM-RIBS (AḲFĀṢ) FOR SALE IN A MARKET

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

goods for sale pays a small sum to the owner of the property on which the market is held.

There is no more animated scene than a village market (Fig. 95). Some of the traders bring their goods the evening before, packed in *akfāṣ* (plural of *kafaṣ*) and other receptacles, and these, together with bundles of sugar-cane and the like, are deposited overnight in the market-place, being left in the charge of village guards. Others who have goods for sale begin to assemble very early in the morning, bringing sacks of onions, bundles of cotton cloths, cheap jewellery, household and kitchen utensils, tomatoes and other vegetables, as well as cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, and camels. The butchers are usually among the first to arrive, for they slaughter the animals on the spot, hanging up the carcasses on huge wooden tripods (Fig. 95, and p. 32, Fig. 11). While thus suspended the meat is cut up, and the purchaser is able to select any special portion that he or she requires.

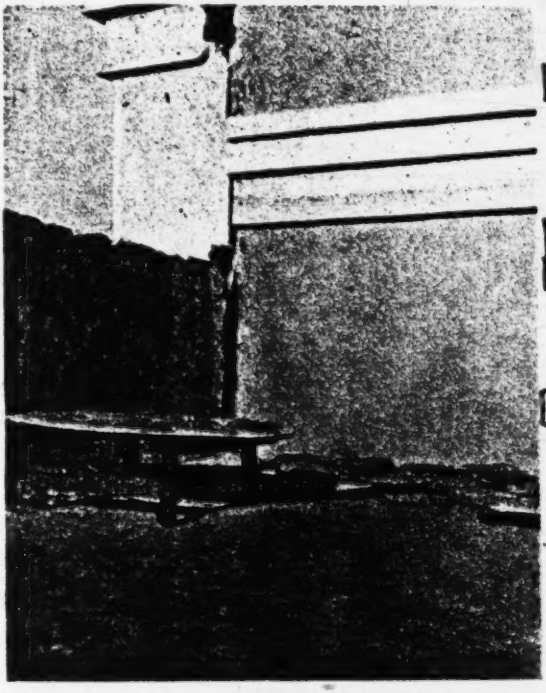


FIG. 94. LOAVES OF UNBAKED BREAD PUT IN THE SUN TO RISE

Each trade has its own particular location in the market-place, which is thus divided up into sections, such as the market of camels, the market of meat, the market of sugar-cane, and so on. Women take their full share in the business of selling, and may be

[Text continues on p. 167]

2: Blackman E-5 (1920-1926) 1927
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

Women take their full share in the business of selling, and may be seen squatting on the ground, often accompanied by their male relatives, with their goods spread out before them. The market of cheese and *semn*—the latter clarified butter regularly used in cooking—is conducted solely by the women, so far as I have seen, and they bring these provisions in metal pans carried on their heads.

Large numbers of pottery water-bottles are nearly always to be

FIG. 96. A SHOEMAKER ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE MARKET

found for sale at the markets, the better ones being made at Ḳena, in Southern Egypt, and exported thence far down the Nile.

The tinsmith also does good business, making mugs (*kīzān*, singular *kūz*), primitive lamps, and other articles on the spot, using for this purpose old paraffin-oil and petrol tins.

A shoemaker is usually to be seen squatting at work in a spot on the outskirts of the market, with a number of shoes ready for sale on the ground by his side (Fig. 96). He has an iron anvil in front of him, similar to that used by the brass- and copper-smiths, described in the first chapter (p. 32). Near by may be seated sellers of musical instruments, such as the pipe (*nāi*), the *zummāreh*,[1] and the

[1] Double pipe with a drone.

AGRICULTURE AND HARVEST RITES

If the land to be irrigated is much above water-level two or three of these *shawādīf* (plural of *shādūf*) are worked one above the other.

The men thus engaged usually sing at their task, some of their songs being very melancholy, and descriptive of their hard and laborious toil. One of them runs thus:

Shawādīf,
Their ropes are of palm-fibre
And their pails are of goatskins.
And it was in ancient times that *shawādīf* were invented
By the blessed Ṣāliḥ Zabādi.

The ropes referred to are those by which the bucket is suspended from the end of the weighted branch which acts as a lever. The name of the supposed inventor is, of course, mythological.

The following is a lament on the hard labour involved in the working of a *shādūf*:

Hast Thou resolved upon strangling me, O God?
Loosen the noose!
No mother weeps [for me],
No aunt,
No sister![1]

Another method of raising the water is by means of a water-wheel round the circumference of which pottery jars are attached. Another small wheel with cogs is attached to the same axis as the larger wheel, and into it fit the cogs of a large horizontal wheel. When this is made to revolve the two vertical wheels are set in motion. A long pole is attached to the horizontal wheel, and to it an ox, cow, or buffalo, or even a camel, is yoked and driven round and round by a man or boy. The animal is usually blind-folded to prevent it from becoming giddy. The groaning and creaking of the turning water-wheel form, to my mind, a most soothing sound.[2] Yet another contrivance for raising the water to the level of the fields is the Archimedean screw, depicted in Fig. 98.

During harvest-time every available man, woman, and child is employed in the fields; but before any of the corn is cut some of the villagers go into the fields and pluck the finest ears by hand. These are plaited into a special form, and this object, called the

[1] See H. Schaefer, *The Songs of an Egyptian Peasant*, translated by F. H. Breasted (Leipzig, 1904), pp. 43 f.

[2] For excellent photographs of a *shādūf* and a water-wheel see *op. cit.*, pp. 45 and 107.

THE FELLĀḤĪN OF UPPER EGYPT

In the chapter dealing with survivals it will be seen that some of these harvest customs can be definitely dated back to very early times in the history of the country.

I have stated above that harvesters are usually paid in kind instead of in cash, and that the women and young girls carry these wages home on their heads. The methods of threshing and winnowing the corn received as wages are more primitive than those already described in this chapter. The threshing is done by beating

FIG. 109. THRESHING WITH A STICK

with a stick (Fig. 109), and this process is often, though not always, carried out by the women. When threshed the corn is usually placed in a large, round tin bath, and the winnowing is done by simply taking up the grain in the hands and throwing it into the air (Fig. 110). The chaff is blown away by the wind, the grain falling down again into the bath. It then goes through a second process of winnowing with a sieve.

The grain, when required for use, is ground in primitive hand-mills, and "two women . . . grinding at the mill" is quite a common sight in Egyptian villages (Fig. 111). The stones from which these hand-mills are made are obtained, so I was informed, from the desert, and are chipped into the desired shape. The flour is very coarse after this grinding, and, moreover, after it has fallen

own habits often neutralise the treatment he receives, so that these diseases remain as deep-rooted as ever in the peasant class.' If only they would pay attention, until more can be done, to the advice and directions which are given them! The answer is that even if they tried they could not hope to succeed, because the conditions under which they live are at every point unfavourable to the attempt. Here lies the heart of the problem.

(4) *Food and Drink*

Water is the first problem; not this time considered for its use in irrigation, which has been studied over and over again, but as a much more vital need in supplying human nourishment. Egypt is a hot country, and the fellah's work makes him sweat, so that thirst affects him more than most other people.

Where the owner of an *'ezba* has installed a pump, the fellaheen may get their water from an artesian well. If their village is on the river bank, they will use water from the Nile, which is silty but fresh-running. But more often than not they can drink only brackish and stagnant water from the irrigation canals.

In these, men and animals cleanse and relieve themselves; vegetables, clothes, and crockery are washed, and carrion is thrown away: and this is the place to which women come to get "drinking water". They bring it home in the early evening, in their ewers or tins, to fill up the great pot, or *zir*, that stands against the house wall. Each fellaha brings back about six gallons each evening for the next day's use. This water she adds to what already remains in the *zir*, so that the bottom is never dry, and never cleaned. The water stands all night, so that some of the dirt settles. It also cools, owing to evaporation through the porous clay. As for the drops which filter through, and which might be used to fill the drinking-pots with pure water for the morning, they simply run to waste in puddles or are drunk by the fowls.

The Government, however, is busily studying the question of supplying drinking-water to the villages, and numerous plans have been made.

Men have always added something to water to give it a taste. The fellah is no exception. Wine he does not drink,

Paradoxical as it may seem, there appears to be a relation between the increase in this "drug habit" and the development of perennial irrigation. It has in fact been proved that this invention, which has doubled Egypt's wealth, has also encouraged bilharzia and ankylostomiasis. These diseases weaken the fellah and reduce his power to work. He seeks relief in the stimulant readiest to hand. As the men, who spend their lives in mud and water, are more affected by these diseases than the women, they are also more addicted to this "black tea" (44).

The cultivation of tobacco, which was brought into Egypt at the beginning of the seventeenth century, was forbidden by a decree of 25th June, 1890. Imported in the raw state from Greece, Turkey and Japan, and processed in Egypt, it is too dear for most of the fellaheen. As with coffee, it is in much greater use in the towns (45).

As a rule the fellaheen eat three meals a day; at sunrise before leaving for work (*futûr*); about 10 o'clock, in the field (*ghâda*); and at home at dusk (*'asha*). The fellaheen always sit cross-legged on the ground, and eat with their fingers.

Those at work usually eat their lunch (*ghâda*) in the open air and in company, each taking his food from the plate or enamel pot his wife has brought him, while the water bottle passes from hand to hand.

The chief meal is supper, which consists of warm cooked food eaten with the family. Cooking is done with oil over a Primus stove, or in a household oven fed with strawed cow-dung (*gilla*).

The fellaheen do not go in for cattle-rearing, and as meat is expensive they cannot eat much of it. They have mutton or beef at most once a week, and at least on the two great festivals, or when an animal is killed by accident. This means an orgy, at which everyone puts away tremendous helpings of food. Every now and again some rich man, for a vow or a funeral, kills an ox or *gamoossa* and gives away its meat; then the poorest can have a feast for nothing.

Those who live on the banks of the Nile, a large canal, or a lake, use nets to catch small fish, which they cook in oil. But most of them are limited to vegetables. Onions (*bassal*), turnips (*lift*), green peppers (*filfil*) and cucumbers (*khiyâr*) are eaten raw. Vegetables which they cook are ladies' fingers (*bâmia*) and *molokhiya* (Jew's mallow) (46), both of

I go visiting my parishioners", says Mgr Khouzam, Bishop of Thebes, "I find few houses with doors. They have square holes for entrances, and these are the only openings. The sole furniture is an oven for bread, a jar of water, a cooking pot and a bowl. In a few houses there is a cord stretched across a corner from wall to wall. This is the wardrobe, where spare clothes are hung. The roof is so low as to be oppressive".

Fortunately, houses normally have two, if not three, rooms. (*) Apart from slight variations in plan, size and arrangement, these usually comprise:

1. A hall (*mandara*). Against the right-hand wall is built a long raised seat (*mastaba*). As the outside door opens into it, this is the best-lighted room in the house. It is used for visitors and guests.

2. Opening into this is the combined sleeping-room and kitchen. In a corner is the oven, built of bricks and set against the wall. Its flat top forms a kind of bed, on which two people sleep in winter. There is no chimney. The smoke escapes by the loophole in the wall.

3. Further in still is a little yard (*zarîba*) about six foot wide and partly covered with maize thatch. This serves as a stable for the *gamoossa* and the donkey, but can be approached only through the front door.

The distinction is not very rigid, and there is nothing to prevent the sitting-room from serving as a stable, or the yard as summer sleeping-quarters. The fowls live everywhere; the pigeons nest in niches in the outer wall, or in petrol tins piled together. In villages where there is a Coptic majority, the pigs must also be taken into account; the Christian fellaheen rear these, not for themselves, but for European pork-butchers. As often as not, we must add that friend of the fellah and guardian of his goods, his shaggy night-howling dog.

The floor of the house is of beaten earth. The furniture is heaped up in disorder in the corners. For meals there is a Primus stove, one or two copper cooking-pots, and a low round table of white wood about three feet wide and eighteen inches high. For sleeping there are straw mats, a few cotton coverlets, or perhaps only a big sack. Sometimes there are beds constructed of palm branches (in the same way as chicken coops) and perhaps a cotton-stuffed mattress. For household

PEASANT FUNERALS

764
133
291

Men and Women

A PEASEANT FAMILY

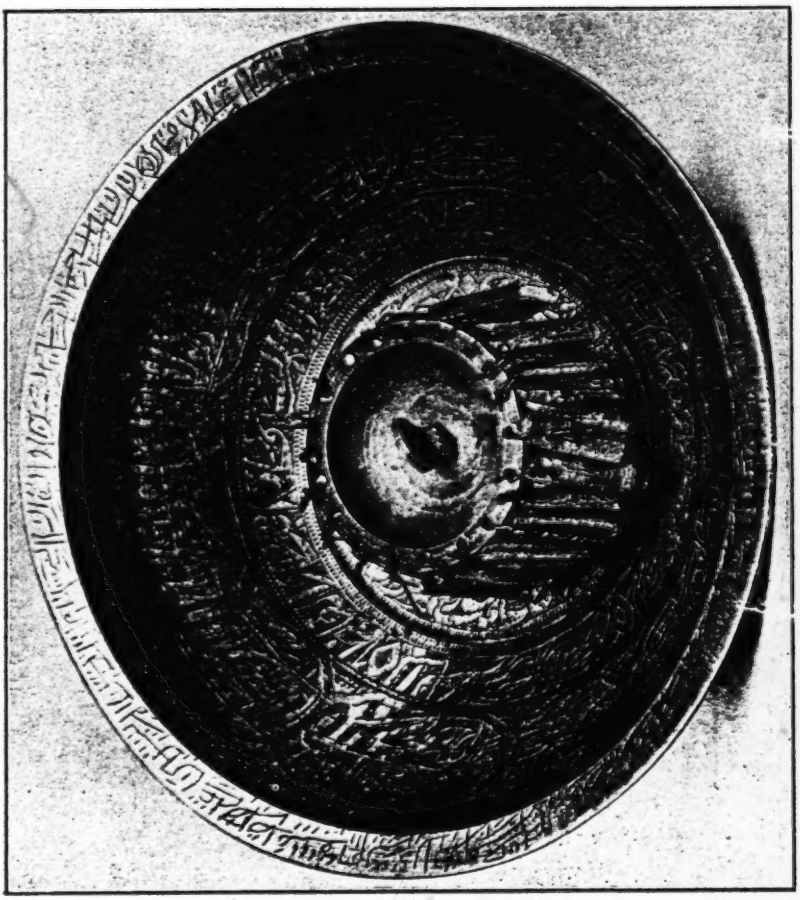
515
585
292
352
231
415

A head toilet.

The wedding procession

4:Walker E-4 (no date) 1934 MR13 Fellahin MR13
(ca. 1890)

755
789
312
415



THE "FEAR" CUP (*Tásat-al-Tarba*)

Facing p. 69

FOLK MEDICINE IN MODERN EGYPT

XXXIX

[p. 82.] THE "FEAR" CUP (ṬĀSAT-AL-TARBA)

THEY say that if there befall a man what throws into his heart nervousness and terror, there is no escape from his being struck either, with venereal disease [*zuhrī*] (there is no need to expose the lies of these folk, since it is generally accepted that venereal disease is contagious and never arises from imagination), or, *yaraḳān* ("jaundice") (which they use generally as a name for nervous diseases). And the "cure" for both of these afflictions is that water should be placed in the "*Fear*" *Cup*.[1] It is a vessel of brass engraved with the figures of birds or inscribed with obscure writings, and after it is exposed to the dew by night, the invalid drinks it and is "cured."

One curious thing is that there is found suspended round the border of the cup forty pieces of brass engraved like the foregoing, and when one of these pieces is lost, there is lost with it the benefit which was to be expected from the taking of the water placed in the cup. I have asked many people about this folly and they have replied: "We found our ancestors doing this and we are driven to do likewise."

The real cause of the disease. It is now established that venereal disease is a disease that is contagious, and not produced of itself, but by inheritance from forebears, or the result of secret contact. So that this false opinion is invalidated.

But these influences are the result of fear and perhaps they

[1] [The following is a rough description of this type of medicine bowl from one in the possession of the translator (plate 3). The dimensions of the bowl are 7¼ ins. in diameter and fully 2 ins. in height. The inner cup is 2¼ ins. in diameter and 1¼ in. in height. Round the rim of the inner cup are twenty little holes, from which are suspended forty keys, two from each hole. Each key bears an inscription on each side. These are not easily decipherable, but appear to be some of the *Asmā' al-ḥusnā*, or *most beautiful names of Allah*. A common one is *Ghafūr* (the forgiver). By loosening the central screw the inner cup with its keys may be turned round to any part of the bowl. The inscriptions are too long to translate here. Besides containing well-known passages from the *Koran*, there are likewise pious exclamations and invocations of the archangels, such as, oh Gabriel! (*Yā Gibr'īl*), oh Michael! (*Yā Mikā'īl*) oh 'Azra'īl, etc. On the extreme edge of the bowl there are what appear to be numbers of magical import. A slightly different example is illustrated by Zwemer in his *Influence of Animism on Islam*, p. 180. Tr.]

17.

×539 821 [551] "Rain, pour it out", that is, all the water which you can give, so that all the vessels in the house will overflow, even to the coffee-cups. Both personal names ('Abdulle and 'Abd-el-'āl) are taken, of course, only to rhyme with the names of the vessels. It is certainly mere accident, that the name 'Abdalla appears also in a similar rain-song of Dalman's (P. 175; from Aleppo).

Ya naṭaret 'Abdulle,
ṣubbīha wimla-l-'ulle.
Ya naṭaret 'Abd-el-'âl,
ṣubbīha wimla-l-fingāl.

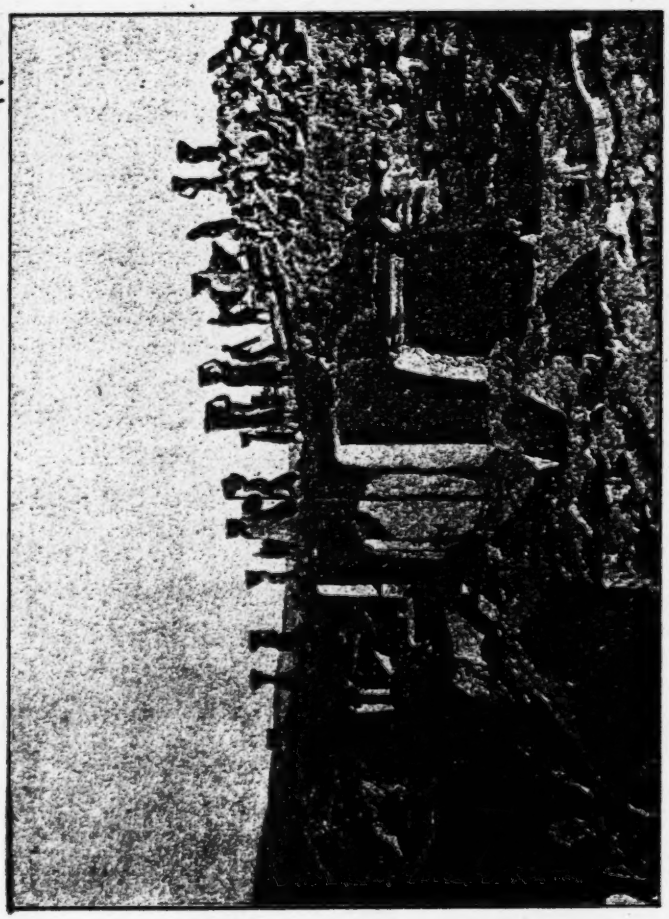
O Rain of 'Abdulle,
Pour it out and fill the water-bottle!
O Rain of 'Abd-el-'āl,
Pour it out and fill the cup.

[415] 2. 'ulle are the water-bottles, of porous, unglazed clay, in which the drinking-water is kept fresh.

4. Fingāl (fingān) are the little coffee-cups without handles, which are placed in little stands (zarf) resembling egg-cups.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

172
482
415



Photograph by L. Borchardt.

At the Work of Excavation.

The Boys with their Rubbish-Baskets. (Excavations at Abusir.)

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

49.

×539

Raiyān ya figl aḫḍar!
Feddān we-nuṣṣo-mkassar!
La'etni gamīle betitmaḫṭar,
we-saḥabt ginebi we-ḥmāri
we-nādēt, ma ḥaddē gāni.

Fresh, green radishes!
An acreful and half of it broken!
A beauty met me, swaying as she walked,
But I drew my baskets and my donkey away,
[And called but no one came to me.]

2. A field, of about one and one twentieth acres, full of them, and half of them broken in pulling them, — the radishes were so tender (according to Maḥmûd). Vollers suggests another interpretation: "One acre of the field is cultivated, but half of this acre is encumbered with debts (mekassar)."

4. The two large baskets, which are strapped or tied together, and hang on either side of the donkey. According to Maḥmûd this line means: I withstood the temptation because I was so anxious to bring the radishes fresh to you.

5. The connection between this line and the preceeding ones, is not very clear. It is possible that the line does not belong here. It occurs also in No. 74 and there in the proper place.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

63.

Good Wishes.

×539 858 A little girl is addressed, who, according to Maḥmûd, is still so small, that she is compared with "goslings which are still green (aḫḍar)". Compare No. 64. Fortune shall so favor the little one, that she shall some day eat with a golden spoon from a silver dish.

Alla ye'ênik, ya uzêzet Ragab;
wiṭ-ṭišlê faḍḍa, wil-ma'alî dahâb.

Allah help thee, O Ragab's gosling!
● [415] May thy dish be of silver, the spoons of gold!

[551] 1. According to Maḥmûd, Ragab is the name of the child's father.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

415
482
291
312
142

Women Drawing Water.

8:Schaefer A-5 (1900-1901) 1904
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

And pile up the dove-jars and boards,
And pack the peaches and the apples!
Come, my beloved and caress me,
Else thou wilt stay out and leave me alone."

1. The bull which turns the sâqye. (Compare No. 97.)

6. The walls of the dove-houses are built of Nile mud and earthen jars, so ranged on each other, that the openings are toward the inside and the bottoms toward the outside. These jars furnish the holes for the nests. The bottoms of some of the jars are knocked out, in order to make entrance-holes. Boards and the ribs of palm-branches, form perches on the inside, while for the outside, branches of trees are usually stuck into the wall.

The illustration shows a half-demolished dove-house, the construction of which is thus made very clear.

These fortress-like dove-houses are to be found especially in Middle Egypt.

9: Klunzinger D-5 (1863-1875) 1878
MR13 Fellahin MR13
Upper Egypt

After his evening devotions the dweller in the town moves homeward to his house, where his supper is already awaiting him. At this meal, which is generally the principal meal of the day, he quite acts the gourmand. His wife brings it to him on a round wooden board elevated on pieces of wood or short feet (*tablieh*); among richer people a shield-like metal plate (*sanieh*) is used instead. The basis of the meal is bread made of wheat or millet flour, or hot unleavened cakes—of which he devours incredible quantities—baked over a fire of dung. His wife has also boiled or fried for him a fish with onions and oil, or there lies in the pot a young pigeon or a fowl, the juice of which tastes excellently when the cakes are dipped in it. Sometimes also a small piece of mutton, buffalo, camel, or goat flesh has been procured, with which the soaked *bamiyehs* or the viscous-juiced, spinach-like *moluchieh* are cooked. These, however, are the more expensive viands, and in the evening also people on ordinary occasions are satisfied with the *ful*, which has become so much a national dish, and which (beans in general), according to Herodotus, was forbidden to the ancient Egyptians, or at least to the priests, and hence also to the Pythagoreans. Other dishes are such as lentils boiled in water without flesh, ful with moluchieh, a thick flour paste, coarsely ground barley or wheat, a cake made with butter, an omelet, fruit, roasted grain, salt, and caraway, and especially raw onions. All these except ful were also eaten by the ancient Egyptians, with the addition of papyrus and lotus. The consumption of lentils was so general that Strabo believed that the nummulites of the mountains were the fossilized remains of the lentils used by the labourers. Whenever it is possible two or three kinds of dishes must be on the table, and the inhabitant of the town tastes of them indiscriminately, taking a piece now from this, now from that.

After the evening meal our citizen either remains at home enjoying a dignified ease in his harem, or he takes up his position before his house, stretched out in the dust of the street, or squatting amidst a knot of peaceful neighbours; less frequently he visits the café again, or calls on a friend in his house or court-yard if he has a friend able and ready to